UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

A Quarter Hour Silence

By FRANK CARLETON DOAN

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Chapter XIX By M. K. GANDHI

When Aristocracy (?) Strikes

By J. ERNEST BRYANT

India and Japan

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

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OF GANDHI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

will appear in this magazine on

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HIS LAW PRACTISE
BEGINNING OF HIS PUBLIC CAREER
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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIX MONDAY, AUGUST 16, 1926 NUMBER 25

OUTLAW WAR!

"So long as the States of the world arm with a view to war, pursue policies which can only be fulfilled by war, make alliances in expectation of war, conduct their relations in secret because of war, for so long will war come, until war shall end mankind; and for so long will every object which gives a reason why States should exist, the prosperity of the mass of the people, the pursuit of knowledge, the practice of art, the cult of human relations, be sacrificed to that Moloch, who offers in return nothing but the prospect of sacrificing again. Is it not time we . . . began at last to take stock of the real situation? The time is short, and the danger imminent."

G. Lowes Dickinson,
in "The International Anarchy."

Word comes to us from India that interest there in Gandhi's autobiography is so great that the Mahatma is planning to gather together the early chapters of his work and publish them in book form this fall. In this country such publication will not take place until the autobiography is finished and has run its course in this magazine. Negotiations are now pending for the American rights to the complete work. Meanwhile, UNITY will be the one place where the autobiography can be found and read as it unfolds into the telling of the great events that are on ahead. Part II, opening up the second period of Gandhi's life, will begin in the issue dated September 20th.

There is one aspect of this debt settlement, and this the basic aspect, which has not yet appeared in the discussion which has been raging so furiously upon both sides of the water in recent weeks. The absence of this fundamental feature of the problem, by the way, provides an interesting illustration of the difficulty of getting public questions in either peace or war settled in accordance with truth and right. Look at the situation! The Allies, more particularly France, are protesting against the repayment of their debts to the United States on the basis of the agreements dictated by "Uncle Shylock." The agreements, as compared with any similar agreements ever made in the commercial world, or with creditor bankers in the political world for that matter, are generous in the extreme. They come so near to cancellation that Uncle Sam ought to be hailed as a Santa Claus rather than berated as a Shylock. But the protests have been, and still are, loud, long and bitter. Why? Because, ostensibly, the Allied nations, more particularly France, are unable to pay because of their sacrifices and tremendous costs and losses in the war. (Incidentally, we didn't hear much of this in the case of Germany!) But there is another reason, implied rather than stated, but none the less potent. This is the assumption, upon which the Versailles Treaty was written, that the Allies, more particularly France, were innocent and inoffending nations, suddenly set upon by wicked Germany, who fought unwillingly for four long years not merely to save themselves from conquest but civilization itself from destruction. If this idea of German guilt is sound, then the Allies, more particularly France, have a good case for exacting the last farthing from the Germans and for asking exemption for themselves. *But it is not sound!* We now know, as a matter not of guess but of demonstration, that there was mutual responsibility for the war, with fully as heavy a burden of guilt resting upon Russia and France as upon Austria and Germany. This means that the Allies, more particularly France, haven't a leg to stand on in this matter of protesting against the debt settlements with America. They helped to cause the war; let them pay the bill! If they have to pay the piper this time, they may not be so eager to call him a second time.

There is another aspect of this debt question which is also not to be neglected. We refer to the confusion of the German settlement, as laid down in the Versailles Treaty, with the various funding settlements of the Allied nations with the United States. Our friends accuse us of inconsistency here! You are opposed to the German settlement, they say; you even denounced the Dawes plan; you think Germany ought to be released from all payments, aside from certain damage charges. But you are insisting that England, France, Italy, Belgium, etc., should pay—that they should be bound down to the very last farthing. Where is there any consistency in this? Like every Pacifist, you are at heart a pro-German! All of which sounds very fine, but only adds to the confusion. As a matter of fact, the two cases here cited as involving the same question and demanding the same answer, are entirely different. They do not belong in the same category of statesmanship at all. The German payments represent *indemnities* imposed upon Germany by force of victorious arms in punishment for what was described in the Versailles Treaty as her "guilt" in starting the war. These indemnities, to quote the words of G. Lowes Dickinson in

his "The International Anarchy" (p. 474), "were reckoned at a figure so absurd that the history of the succeeding years has consisted largely in a belated reduction of them to a sum which, even yet, is known by instructed people to be fantastic." Germany, in other words, is paying a *fine,* imposed upon her in ruthless cruelty and vengeance, for a crime for which her conquerors and judges must share responsibility, as all historians are now agreed. With France, Italy and England, however, the case is utterly different. These nations borrowed money to carry on this war, for which they were mutually responsible with the Central Powers, which they fought throughout not for unselfish humanitarian but for selfish imperialistic purposes, and from which they acquired booty of incalculable value. Now they are asked to pay their debts, to meet their obligations. Why not? What principle of business or of ethics can absolve them? What better lesson could they learn than that victory has its price not less heavy and bitter than defeat? If America had conquered the Allies and were now plundering them by exacting fantastic indemnities, we should object. But when America simply asks that she be paid some part at least of what she loaned to Europe for this imperialistic business of war and victory, we say she is right. Had she loaned money to Germany, we should say the same.

The Roman Catholic church which for centuries practically ruled Mexico is perhaps slowly but to all appearances surely being driven out of that country. Its political power seems to be completely broken. The final gesture of the hierarchy is a statement to the effect that all who participate in the enforcement of the laws designed to curb the church will be excommunicated—a threat which somehow lacks importance in a land where it was possible to enact such legislation. On July 31st all religious services in Catholic churches throughout the Republic were suspended. Whether or not this upheaval will help the Mexican people in their struggle for education and freedom we cannot know at this hour. We can hope, but only after a century or so can final judgment be rendered. The Roman church has an unlovely record south of the Rio Grande, no less than in Italy and Spain. When its influence is removed, when two or three generations have reached maturity without contact with its teaching, historians will be justified in estimating the importance of the events of today. That the Mexican people have the right to control the church no one can doubt. That the church has the right to withdraw is also admitted. What concerns and interests us is the fact that the ancient and in our estimation evil partnership between the church and the state is dying if not already dead. If the Mexican people can survive and prosper without the Roman influence, well and good; the world will applaud. It is certainly plain that, as one sees Mexico at the end of the church's sway, the people have not prospered spiritually or materially in the hundreds of years that constitute the era now being terminated. The Roman church leaves Mexico a failure—a total failure after a score of generations of opportunity.

We hope that our anti-Prohibition friends are awake to all the horrible enormities, not to say anomalies, of the dreadful movement which they are fighting. All that civilization has won, all that men hold precious, all that heroes and martyrs have died for through the ages—the right to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness—all these are hanging in the balance as Prohibition holds its sway. The crisis of human destiny is at hand—Prohibition must be destroyed root and branch, wherever it appears, in whatever disguise it clothes itself, if humanity is not to perish! For example—look at the incredible, the indescribable iniquity now being proposed in England! Of all places in the world, *in England,* the home of freedom! In the House of Lords there is pending a bill providing for the protection of wild birds in the British Isles. To this bill—*horrible dictu!*—Lord Buckmaster, whoever he may be, has actually moved an amendment prohibiting—yea, verily, *prohibiting*—the collection and sale of plovers' eggs!!! These eggs, it seems, are very popular; they are in great demand as a delicacy for the breakfast table; so much so, in fact, that the extinction of the plover is seriously threatened. And now, if you will believe it, just for the sake of saving a silly wild bird, it is being seriously proposed, not by the Commons but by the *Lords*—ye gods—that the sale of these eggs be prohibited. Could anything be more monstrous? Imagine it!—dictating to a man what he shall eat, and *not* eat!—actually marching right into a man's house, his home, his dining-room, his cellar, and making it a crime for him to eat and drink what he likes! What are we coming to? Where is this thing going to end? Is it not certain that, if we resist not to the death, every liberty will be denied, every right eventually be taken away? *This thing must stop! Away with prohibition laws!* Let everything be legal—plovers' eggs, alcoholic liquors, opium, impure food, patent medicines, carbolic acid, cyanide of potassium. "Eat, drink, and be merry," for after us—the deluge.

The late Israel Zangwill enjoyed great fame as a writer, but it never seemed to us that this fame, great as it was, ever really measured up to the extraordinary qualities of the man as a literary artist. The fact that Zangwill was a Jew, and wrote so much and so often as a Jew, undoubtedly had something to do with it—a case of unconscious prejudice! More important is the fact that those universal attributes of genius which Zangwill so truly possessed, were little understood and even less appreciated by critics obsessed by the bizarre specialties of D. H. Laurence, Aldous Huxley,

Sherwood Anderson, James Branch Cabell, and other eccentrics of our day. Israel Zangwill belonged to the giant breed of the Victorians, and thus was often scorned. But just for this reason was he great in those fundamental ways which are now so little known. His "Children of the Ghetto," steeped as it was in the traditions and sorrows of the author's race, ranks with the best of Dickens and Thomas Hardy. His play, "The Melting Pot," as propagandist as Charles Reade's "Never Too Late to Mend," or Charles Kingsley's "Alton Locke," is one of the great English dramas of modern times. His essays are as brilliant as a Shaw preface—his poems as lovely as they are few. Despite his towering literary stature, however, we reverence Zangwill most for his heroic reaction upon the Great War! Here the Jew came to the fore—the child of the prophets—the exalted champion of righteousness, brotherhood, and peace. His "War of the Worlds" ranks in our mind with Bertrand Russell's "Justice in War Time" and Romain Rolland's "Above the Battle," as one of the enduring spiritual monuments of that terrific crisis. Zangwill was an essential pacifist—see his play, "The War God"; he hated force and violence, had faith in the mystic potencies of goodwill. But he also had clear vision which penetrated to the shams and deceits of the 1914 conflict, and made him one of the few men who were not fooled by the insane furies of the time. On his last visit to this country, in 1923, he said what few comprehend today, but what history will record as its verdict—that America should never have entered the war. "If America had not gone in," he said, "a draw would have resulted, and militarism would have been killed instead of revived." The world is intellectually weaker, as it is spiritually poorer, for Zangwill's death.

A Quarter Hour Silence*

(*Un quart d'heure pour Dieu.*)

Some years ago—in the New Year season of 1917, to be exact—the writer sent out to a number of his personal friends a privately printed leaflet bearing the above title. In it he described a French meditation movement the record of which he had accidentally come across, and urged the starting of a similar adventure of the spirit in this country. The rather surprising welcome given to the little leaflet, the unanticipated extent to which its suggestion was adopted by many men and women outside the immediate circle of its author's own personal friends, and some of the practical lessons and results of this experiment in the fine art of meditating —these matters will be the subject of a series of little essays in UNITY to which this one is the introduction.

And first, to reproduce the leaflet itself only slightly revised from its original form to meet our present purpose. It reads as follows:

I

The other day in rummaging through a pile of musty old pamphlets in the New York Public Library I came across the records of a curious old order of French mystics. It was what you might call a purely spiritual body,—a society with no constitution to go by, no fees to be paid, no officers to be deferred to, no meeting place; just an invisible group of men and women from all over France who were one in spirit.

What first caught my eye was the motto on the outside cover of the pamphlet, *"Un quart d'heure pour Dieu."* This "quarter-hour for God," I learned as I read along, referred to the obligation each candidate was required to take on being passed to membership in the order. He must pledge himself to spend at least a quarter-hour each day communing with the Great Spirit. That was all.

II

I am thinking this is an obligation we modern men and women need to take upon ourselves. The only way to come to any vivid sense of an Eternal Presence living in us, making for justice and love, is by this daily communion with the Great Spirit. Set aside a time each day. Make a solemn appointment with the Great Spirit. Let nothing, no matter how seemingly important, break in upon that sacred quarter-hour. Get your eternal bearings once a day. Fall back for a quarter-hour upon the Eternal for guidance and strength. Do this with constancy day after day and in time the Great Spirit will come to cover your spirit as the waters cover the sea.

III

It doesn't matter much what our idea of God may be; or whether we have any *idea* at all. It is enough that we *feel*, as every man does, a spirit of justice within us and of love of our kind. For all practical purposes that is what God is,—a Great Spirit of justice and love, a Great Soul of Humanity, drawing all men together. And praying is just the renewing of this Great Spirit within us. More than this we may believe if we will. Less than this we cannot believe without violating the sanctities of our own souls.

IV

Some things a man gets to know after while. He will learn in time that whenever he does pause like this to renew and deepen the spirit of justice and love within his own soul he does come nearer to the Eternal. These few moments of daily communion with the Great Spirit which is ever ready within him will mark the whole day for him, strengthening him with purposes of justice, sweetening him with a spirit of love.

This little leaflet distributed privately some eight years ago was the beginning of a movement of the Spirit in this country which spread rapidly at first and has since continued to grow steadily until today this "silent fellowship," as it has been called, counts its members all over this country and with a considerable number in Canada and England. It may well be described as a movement of the Spirit, pure and undefiled. Like its earlier French forerunner, this movement has no organization of any kind; no constitution, no officers, no committees, no dues, no meetings! It is purely a fellowship of the Spirit, undefiled by any purpose lower than this of daily communion with the Great Spirit in whose presence we may all thus live and move and have our

*Readers who may desire to join this "silent fellowship" may send their names and addresses to "The Quarter Hour Silence," c/o UNITY.

constant being. Any one among our readers may join this fellowship by inwardly resolving that he too will set aside a quarter hour period in each day for this renewing of his sense of the Eternal Presence, a Presence quietly working within him even in the midst of the hurly-burly of his workaway life.

FRANK CARLETON DOAN.

[To Be Continued.]

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

I

This is vacation time for Americans. President Coolidge is up in the Adirondacks and has caught his second big fish—this one being a three pounder. This time, his wife does not dispute the fact of his having caught it. This "close to nature" experience will land the President in the White House for a second term—so the politicians give out.

This is the season too when hundreds of Americans, of the intellectual type are hieing to Europe. The social season, over there, of course, is over. But the people now going over are those who want to learn something. They are teachers, investigators of social conditions. Europe, especially England, is the great laboratory for Americans. It is still "home" for culture and advanced experimentation in humanities. Every other American admits that in the evolutionary process of the earth's life, the "old world" has passed by some stations that await America. A number of my friends are on the way now to visit Geneva and take a "look into" things there. They want to get some first hand knowledge about the "League" and the "Court." No matter how much Americans may declare to the contrary, it is nevertheless true that a citizen who has "just returned from Europe" is regarded as one possessing expert knowledge on world politics, industry and religion.

Of course, the financial center of the world has had quite a jolt in the direction of Wall street and tennis and golf balls of Americans are disturbing the "balance of power," but the old country retains its grip on leadership in affairs that have to do with government, culture and sociology. . . . Next autumn, in hundreds of pulpits and class-rooms, will be heard the words, "As was said in the conference at Toynbee," or "When I was talking with Ramsay MacDonald," or "I heard Shaw say," or "When I was at Helsingfors," or "I found out that Uncle Sam was unpopular," or "They have a way of doing things in France," or "I found no one in Russia who did not think the Soviet government would stand," or "The English are away ahead of us in the Peace movement," or "When I was at Lord Cecil's party, I heard—etc." . . . "What I learned in Europe this summer" will be actually the theme of thousands of sermons, lectures and lessons to be delivered the coming fall. And it will be beneficial to everybody concerned.

II

The Youth Movement in America is quite different from the European one, and has not gone deep. A friend who has recently visited the colleges of the land, from east to west, told me that about all the Youth Movement there was to be found in the colleges was a revolt against orthodox religion and against Puritan ideas and practices in the realm of sex. . . . Judge Ben Lindsey, Denver, of Juvenile court fame, whom the K. K. K. has been doing its level best to oust but who still retains his judgment seat, has put out a widely read book, "The Revolt of Modern Youth." He fills the pages with incidents from his experience as Juvenile court judge. If the judge's statistics are to be accepted as to the state of morality among the youth of America, the situation is discouraging. . . . With the judge, the "revolt" of youth is in the realm of sex. They are breaking down the conspiracy of silence. They are insisting upon knowing the bare facts. When the judge and other Americans speak about the revolt of youth, they generally have in mind a dash for freedom away from the prohibitions of the fathers. . . . The Germans go much deeper when they speak of the Youth Movement. They are traveling toward a gentle kind of Puritanism, a simple life, a saner life, a purer life, better literature, sweeter dances—in short, an effort to follow the higher instincts of the youthful heart. . . . American youth claim that they are "just as spiritually-minded and sane as their fathers and mothers at their ages." In the European Youth Movement, the young people are seeking to break from the cramping forms of their fathers in order to live in the spirit and principles of a higher life. The European youth have suffered so much, that their grip on life and experience gets hold further down. . . . Rev. Herbert A. Jump, pastor in the town where is located a big state university, Ann Arbor, furnishes a statement made by 40 students as expressing the religion of the average youth of today. Here is part of it:

> We like the definition of spirituality in terms of ethical idealism. . . . We like to have ministers tell us all that they have learned in the seminary, not only a portion of it. . . . We are tired of milk. . . . We want now some of the grown-up secrets of modern Christianity. . . .We don't know much about the infallibility of the Bible, but we want to understand it better. . . . We don't know much about any life beyond the grave, but we hope there is one. . . . Anyhow, the best way to get ready for the grave or any life beyond it is to be a good scout in this life, to play the game honestly, to give a lift wherever we can, and not to make money the only God we worship.

Mr. Jump thinks that this last sentence is an up-to-date description of religion, as it is when found on an American college campus. Not very deep, lacking considerably the root found in more exacting experience, as the youth of Europe have faced, yet, bright, optimistic, cheery and inspiring.

III

I recently had a long talk with Roger Baldwin, executive secretary of the Civil Liberties Union, with headquarters in New York. He is on a tour of the country, in the interests of civil liberties. He has been spending a couple of months in California, which, he says, is the most backward of all the states in liberating those convicted during the war for being members of the Communist party, under the so-called syndicalist law. In that state there are now 59 I. W.

W.'s in the prisons. These persons have committed no overt act. In other states, the slate is pretty clean of such cases. One discouraging feature of the situation is the fact that organized labor spends its time pretty closely on questions of wages and hours. American workingmen have little social sense, that is aroused over the invasion of civil rights. There cannot be said to be "a labor movement." The workers are not much concerned if some of their fellows are imprisoned. What the workers of other lands are doing or suffering does not interest them. Far more of the socialization of industry is coming from the side of the employers than from the workers. . . . Many think this will last as long as the average worker is able to go to his daily work in his own automobile. There is, of course, no labor party in the States. The two big parties, the Republican and Democratic, are divided by no issue at present. Few workers are elected to office. Few elections are determined by the votes of the workers, who are usually fooled by the politicians of the different localities. The workers of America are thus poor defenders of civil liberties. They also become an easy prey to the promoters of intolerance.

SYDNEY STRONG.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1926)

CHAPTER XIX

The Canker of Untruth

There were comparatively few Indian students in England forty years ago. It was a practice with them to affect the bachelor even though they might be married. School or college students in England are all bachelors, studies being regarded as incompatible with married life. We had that tradition in the good old days, a student then being invariably known as a *brahmachari*. But in these days we have child marriages—a thing practically unknown in England. Indian youths in England therefore felt ashamed to confess that they were married. There was also another reason for dissembling, namely that in the event of the fact being known it would be impossible for the young men to go about or dally with the young girls of the family in which they lived. The dalliance was more or less innocent. Parents even encouraged it; and that sort of association between young men and young women may even be a necessity there, in view of the fact that every young man has to choose his mate. If, however, Indian youths on arrival in England indulge in these relations—quite natural to English youths—the result is likely to be disastrous, as has often been found. I saw that our youths had succumbed to the temptation and chosen a life of untruth for the sake of companionships which, however innocent in the case of English youths, were for them undesirable. I too caught the contagion. I did not hesitate to pass myself off as a bachelor though I was married and the father of a son. But I was none the happier for being a dissembler. Only my reserve and my reticence saved me from going into deeper waters. If I did not talk, no girl would think it worth her while to enter into conversation with me, or to go out with me.

My cowardice was on a par with my reserve. It was customary for families like the one in which I was staying at Ventnor, for the daughter of the landlady to take out guests for a walk. My landlady's daughter took me one day to the lovely hills round Ventnor. I was no slow walker, but my companion walked even faster, dragging me after her and chattering away all the while. I responded to her chatter sometimes with a whispered "yes" or "no," or at the most "yes, how beautiful!" She was flying like a bird whilst I was wondering when I should get back home. We thus got up to the top of a hill. How to get down again was the question. In spite of her high-heeled boots this sprightly young lady of twenty-five darted down the hill like an arrow. I was shamefacedly struggling to get down. She stood at the foot smiling and cheering me and offering to come and drag me. How could I be so chicken-hearted? With the greatest difficulty, and crawling at intervals, I somehow managed to scramble to the bottom. She loudly laughed "bravo" and shamed me all the more, as well she might.

But I could not escape scatheless everywhere. For God wanted to rid me of the canker of untruth. I once went to Brighton—another watering-place like Ventnor. This was before the Ventnor visit. I met there at a hotel an old widow of moderate means. This was my first year in England. The courses on the *menu* were all described in French, which I did not understand. I sat at the same table as the old lady. She saw that I was a stranger and puzzled, and immediately came to my aid. "You seem to be a stranger," she said, "and look perplexed. Why have you not ordered anything?" I was spelling through the menu and preparing to ascertain the ingredients of the courses from the waiter, when the good lady thus intervened. I thanked her and explaining my difficulty told her that I was at a loss to know which of the courses were vegetarian as I did not understand French.

"Let me help you," she said. "I shall explain the card to you and show you what you may eat." I gratefully availed myself of her help. This was the beginning of an acquaintance that ripened into friendship and was kept up all through my stay in England and long after. She gave me her London address and invited me to dine at her place every Sunday. On special occasions also she would invite me, help me to conquer my bashfulness and introduce me to young ladies and draw me into conversation with them. Particularly marked out for these conversations was a young lady who stayed with her, and often we would be left entirely alone together.

I found all this very trying at first. I could not start a conversation nor could I indulge in any jokes. But she put me in the way. I began to learn: and in due time looked forward to every Sunday and came to like the conversation with the young friend.

The old lady went on spreading her net wider every day. She felt interested in our meetings. Possibly she had her own plans about us.

I was in a quandary. "How I wished I had told the good lady that I was married!" I said to myself,

"She would then have not thought of an engagement between us. It is, however, never too late to mend. If I declare the truth I might yet be saved more misery." With these thoughts in my mind, I wrote a letter to her somewhat to this effect:

Ever since we met at Brighton you have been kind to me. You have taken care of me even as a mother of her son. You also think that I should get married and with that view you have been introducing me to young ladies. Rather than allow matters to go further, I must confess to you that I have been unworthy of your affection. I should have told you when I began my visits to you that I was married. I knew that Indian students in England dissembled the fact of their marriage and I followed suit. I now see that I should not have done so. I must also add that I was married while yet a boy, and am the father of a son. I am pained that I should have kept this knowledge from you so long. But I am glad God has now given me the courage to speak out the truth. Will you forgive me? I assure you I have taken no improper liberties with the young lady you were good enough to introduce to me. I knew my limits. You not knowing that I was married naturally desired that we should be engaged. In order that things should not go beyond the present stage, I must tell you the truth.

If on receipt of this, you feel that I have been unworthy of your hospitality, I assure you I shall not take it amiss. You have laid me under an everlasting debt of gratitude by your kindness and solicitude. If, after this, you do not reject me but continue to regard me worthy of your hospitality, which I shall spare no pains to deserve, I shall naturally be happy and count it a further token of your kindness.

Let the reader know that I could not have written such a letter in a moment. I must have drafted and redrafted it many times over. But it lifted a burden that was weighing me down. Almost by return post came her reply somewhat as follows:

"I have your frank letter. We were both very glad and had a hearty laugh over it. The untruth you say you have been guilty of is pardonable. But it is well that you have acquainted us with the real state of things. My invitation still stands and we shall certainly expect you next Sunday and look forward to hearing all about your child-marriage and to the pleasure of laughing at your expense. Need I assure you that our friendship is not in the least affected by this incident?"

I thus purged myself of the canker of untruth and I never thenceforward hesitated to talk of my married state wherever necessary. M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai*)

Total Prohibition

The Swaraj Party in Madras deserves the congratulations of all friends of the poor for having included total prohibition in their program. Were it not for the very potential force of inertia we would long since have done away with this evil. It is sapping the vitality of the laboring classes, who need to be helped against themselves. There is no country in the world which is so well-fitted for immediate prohibition as India. Public opinion has always been on the right path. No referendum is necessary as it would be in European countries, for the simple reason that in India the intellectual classes do not drink as in European countries. The Rev. W. L. Ferguson of Madras has brought out a pamphlet clearly showing the need for prohibition. Of the financial burden the reverend gentleman says:

"No country, however rich and prosperous, can really afford to drink, for drink brings nations to the verge of ruin and sometimes topples them over the brink. India is a poor country as yet. She is poor in her capital wealth; she is poor in education; she is poor in sanitation and public health; she is poor in housing; she is poor in agriculture and manufacturing; she is poor in means of communication in rural areas; and if there is any department of her life in which she does not need more of good than she possesses, let some knowing one inform us, for we do not know what or where it is. India cannot afford the use of intoxicants. Financially the drain is too heavy. Just what the cost is in rupees we are unable to say; but some idea of it can be obtained from the revenues derived by the Government in the Excise Department. In round numbers this is Rs. 20,000,000,000 per annum. Some estimate that the total drink and drug bill of India for a year amounts to five times this sum received by Government; and others place it at three times that figure. I do not believe that we shall err very far if we take a figure half way between these two and place the amount at Rs. 80,000,000,000. Now of this vast sum the greater part comes from the earnings of the laboring classes—the very people who need it most for promoting the welfare of themselves, their families and their communities. If we assume that three-fourths of the drink and drug bill of India is paid by the poor and the laboring classes, some Rs. 60,000,000,000 is the burden they are bearing. And what could be done towards putting India's poor on their feet, if this vast revenue annually were saved from intoxicants and used for home-building and nation-building enterprises! It would not be long before thrift would replace squalor in our great cities and prosperity begin to attend the humble dwellings of our villages."

The moral loss is even greater than the financial. Drinks and drugs degrade those who are addicted to them and those who traffic in them. The drunkard forgets the distinction between wife, mother and sister and indulges in crimes of which in his sober moments he will be ashamed. Any one who has anything to do with labor knows to what state the laborers are reduced when they are under the satanic influence of drink. Nor are the other classes better off. I have known the captain of a ship to forget himself in his drunken state. The ship had to be entrusted to the care of the chief officer. Drunken barristers have been known to roll in gutters. Only these better-placed men are protected by the police all over the world, whereas the poor drunkard is punished for his poverty.

If drink in spite of its harmfulness was not a fashionable vice among Englishmen, we would not find it in the organized state we do in this pauper country. If we were not hypnotized we would refuse to educate our children out of the proceeds of vice, which the drink and the drug revenue undoubtedly is.

Mr. Ferguson suggests fresh taxation to replace this vice-begotten revenue. In my opinion no taxation is necessary, if only the Government will reduce the frightful military expenditure not required for defence against aggression but manifestly imposed to suppress internal commotion. The demand, therefore, for prohibition must go hand in hand with the demand for a corresponding reduction in military expenditure. The missionary bodies if they will range themselves alongside of public opinion and will insist on prohibition, must study the question of military expenditure, and if

they are satisfied that much of the expenditure is due to a false fear of internal trouble, must demand reduction in military expenditure, at least to the extent of the drink and drug revenue.

The duty before the Swaraj and other political parties is quite clear. They owe it to the country to demand total and immediate prohibition with one voice. If the demand is not granted the Swaraj party has an additional count in the indictment against the Government. Prohibition as Mr. C. Rajgopalachari has so aptly shown, is an item of first class political education of the masses. And it is one item on which all parties, all races and all denominations can be easily united.

Young India. M. K. GANDHI.

When Aristocracy (?) Strikes

Following in the wake of the general strike in England there took place a strike of the aristocracy in Germany. At least that seems to be the most accurate characterization of the student strike at Hanover, followed by a sympathetic strike for one day in many of the other German universities. The strike was an effort by the student body to oust Prof. Theodor Lessing from his chair of Psychology in the Technische Hochschule at Hanover. It was charged by the student group that Lessing had forfeited his rights as a professor when he printed in a foreign newspaper some rather cutting remarks about Reichspresident Von Hindenburg and his regime. In a small pamphlet written by Prof. Ernst Maas, entitled "Hindenburg and the German Professors," one finds an attempt to prove Lessing's unworthiness to hold a professorship in a German University. The most serious charge against Lessing is a quotation in which Lessing declared: "Hindenburg a zero; better a zero than a Nero; but behind a zero is always concealed a future Nero."

Because of this and similar statements, none of which was made in connection with his work as professor, Lessing's class room was made the center of a riot by the students at Hanover, and every possible means used to prevent his lecturing. The faculty at Hanover disciplined the group by expelling ten of its leaders, whereupon the student body as a whole called a strike. In addition to holding protest meetings, the educational authorities in Berlin were appealed to in an effort to oust Lessing. Finally the faculty at Hanover, wishing peace at any price, asked Lessing to resign. But Lessing refused to be ousted. Preusischer Kultusminister Becker could not be moved by student propaganda to remove Lessing. The latter has finally agreed not to lecture in Hanover after this semester, but he retains his nominal professorship and his regular salary.

The strike may be called a strike of aristocracy in that it was an effort to defend Hindenburg not as an individual, nor as Reichspresident, but as one of the few remaining symbols of the old regime, with all of its class distinctions. The most discouraging thing one meets in Germany today is not the economic situation, which is indeed discouraging, but rather the reactionary tendencies which one sees in the German youth. One thinks usually of youth as forward-looking, radical or even revolutionary, and of the mature man as conservative and backward-looking. The situation in Germany today is just the reverse.

Marburg, for example, is a typical German university, with about 2,500 students. Of this number, more than 2,000 belong to the Deutsch National party. A few weeks ago the democratic party held a meeting in Marburg, to which delegates came from a fairly large section. The writer attended all of its meetings, some of which were open meetings. But in none of them was a respectable representation of students to be found. Less than a dozen students and very few young people attended the principal open meeting, at which prominent party representatives from Berlin and Frankfort spoke.

The artistocratic aspirations of the German student are most conspicuous in the Verbindungen. These closed fraternities have two main purposes: the promotion of *menseur* or duel, and drinking beer. Every student belongs to the common herd until he has fought at least one *menseur,* during the course of which both students usually have their faces and heads efficiently butchered. Occasionally it becomes necessary for the friends of one member of the duel to institute a search for his nose, or perhaps an ear, which has gone flying through the air at the urge of a masterly stroke by his opponent. The duel lasts fifteen minutes, and by that time both parties usually have a sufficient number of gashes in their faces to indicate that they no longer belong to the common herd, but have been initiated into the aristocracy. The new aristocrat is very proud of his scars. The body is protected by plates. A scar on the shoulder, for example, would be worthless, since no one would be able to observe it. These new born aristocrats have no further sympathy with the mass and look forward to the day when men with such courage as theirs will be able to steer the course of Germany back to the good old days.

Another feature of this aristocratic aspiration is a hatred of foreigners, especially Jews. The fact that Lessing is a Jew is sufficient to start a strike among the students. The Deutsch National and Volks parties wage a steady battle against the Jew. On a placard announcing a Volks party meeting in Marburg recently there stood in very bold type: "No Jews admitted."

The fraternities are strongest in the universities located in the smaller towns. Students in the larger cities, such as Berlin and Leipzig, refused to participate in the sympathetic strike.

Many interesting comparisons might be made between the student strike in Germany and the general strike in England. Both were efforts to maintain what were conceived to be natural rights, towards which the government in both cases was indifferent. But one was a strike of the conservative against the radical, the other a strike of the radical against the conservative. The English government is attempting to establish the illegality of the general strike. During the strike, the chief representative of the Catholic church in England declared the strike was not only unlawful, but immoral and ungodly, and that no loyal Catholic should support it. But if England had a strong labor government, is it not probable that the English aristocracy would also use the general strike if it believed it could thereby maintain what it conceived to be its natural rights?

Marburg, Germany. J. ERNEST BRYANT.

India and Japan

A Comparison and a Contrast

In her book, "The Ethics of Opium," Ellen N. La Motte explains why Japan is what it is today, and why India and China are what they are. It is, she claims, because Japan has been free, while India has been seized and dominated by a foreign power, while China has been dominated by half-a-dozen foreign powers and also drugged with opium. Says Miss La Motte:

> Japan has committed a crime which is hard to forgive: she has disproved the contention that Oriental races are unfit to govern themselves. She has also made another blunder, equally momentous: she has disproved the contention that Oriental races need opium as a part of their daily bread. At the time when the European powers were loading themselves up with the White Man's Burden, Japan was considered too insignificant a burden to be worth picking up. This oversight has had far-reaching consequences. For by reason of this omission, this failure to grab Japan while the grabbing was good, Japan has been left alone, to work out her own salvation without being dominated (like India) and without being drugged (like China). The result is that today Japan is on a plane, from a commercial and military point of view, with the great European powers.

Said the Honorable G. K. Kokhale, of India, member of the Viceroy's Council, in a speech on the government's budget (1906):

> Japan came under the influence of Western ideas only forty years ago, and yet already, under the fostering care of its Government that nation has taken its place by the side of the proudest nations in the West. We, the people of India, have been under England's rule three or four times forty years, and yet we continue to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country, and we have no position anywhere else.

Why does small (comparatively small) Japan occupy so conspicuous a place in Asia and the world? And why does India, a country so very much larger, more populous and older in civilization, occupy a place so much less conspicuous and less honored?

Is it because the people of Japan are by nature a superior people, and the people of India inferior?

As for myself, I think very highly of the Japanese. I have had much acquaintance with them, both in America and in their own country; and I regard them, whether in their intellectual ability, their character or their civilization, as not inferior to the average white nations, and as distinctly superior to some.

But are they superior to the people of India? And even if they are today, were they when the Indian people fell under British domination, a little less than two centuries ago? Or were they when Japan emerged from her long seclusion, some seventy years ago?

If at either of those dates, Englishmen or Americans who were best acquainted with the Orient, had been asked which of the two nations, in their judgment, was the superior, as to their civilization, their intellectual ability and their character, I think they would have assigned to India a place distinctly above Japan.

Certainly until recent years Japan has had a very inconspicuous place in the world; indeed, she has hardly been known even by the other nations of Asia. On the other hand, India has occupied a very great place. Let us see how great.

From time immemorial India was known not only throughout practically all Asia, but in eastern Europe and in parts of Africa. At the time of Alexander the Great she was so famous in Greece that it became the supreme ambition of that great conqueror to lead his armies to India, and add to his empire that most renowned country of Asia. And he did push his conquests to India, where he found a civilization which he recognized as little if any inferior to that of Greece, and great kingdoms with armies so strong that after fighting a great battle he decided that wisdom required him to retreat.

Two or three centuries before Christ the Buddhist religion, which had its rise in India, was carried by its missionaries all over Asia, to the very borders of Europe, if it did not even penetrate that continent; and a little later it spread over nearly all eastern Asia, carrying Indian thought and influence wherever it went.

There was much knowledge of India among the Romans, and considerable overland commerce, bringing to Rome the valuable products of India—jewelry, precious stones, fine silks, and so on. Later, the wealth of Venice, Genoa and other Mediterranean cities was built up largely by their extensive and profitable commerce with India. For more than two thousand years, up to very recent times, numerous great caravans were all the while moving between the Mediterranean countries and India.

It was to discover a sea route to India, so as to give Europe easier access to Indian products and Indian wealth that Columbus sailed over the Atlantic; and when he found America he thought it was India—hence the incorrect name, "Indians," given to the natives of the American continent.

The glory that came to Vasco da Gama from his discovery of a passage around the south of Africa came mainly from the fact that it gave the European nations what they had so long desired, an all-ocean route to India. As soon as that route was discovered all the leading sea-going nations of Europe—Portugal, Spain, France, Holland and Great Britain—became rivals in extending their trade by sea to India, and it was not long before the Dutch, French and English were fighting to gain, first, commercial and then political dominance in that wealthiest and most renowned country in the greatest of the continents. And when Great Britain drove out her rivals, and became the conqueror, possessor, exploiter and despoiler of the land, drawing from it a stream of riches greater than the stream of gold and silver which Spain drew from Mexico and Peru, all the nations of Europe were jealous, and ever since have regarded Britain as having obtained the greatest prize (robber prize!) in all the world.

Surely such a country, thus famous from as far back as history extends, ought today to occupy a conspicuous place in the world.

Why does it not? Why is it so far outstripped and overshadowed by Japan?

Compare the past history of Japan, and her past and present resources and natural advantages, with those of India.

Japan is very small in area, only about one-seventh as large as India, and possesses only about one-fifth as great a population. Instead of being located centrally in Asia, as India is, it is located far to the east, and not even on the continent at all. Its known history does not go back nearly so far as India's, and the beginning of its civilization is much more recent.

During much of its history it has been a sort of hermit land, its people having little to do with other nations. Until Commodore Perry, some seventy years ago, broke up its isolation and compelled it to open its doors to foreign intercourse, it was very little known, even in Asia, and had practically no place at all among the nations of the world. Whatever literature it had created was unknown to other peoples. Its chief religion was borrowed from a foreign country, India. Its art, although in some of its forms of considerable excellence, was limited, and at least to a degree was an imitation of that of China. It was almost wholly an agricultural land, its manufactures being few and its foreign commerce very restricted, neither one comparing at all with those of India. It had almost no iron or other mineral resources and its coal was limited, whereas the iron, coal and other resources of India were well nigh inexhaustible. Its wealth was very small compared with the vast wealth which India possessed before her conquest and exploitation by the British.

And yet, within the last two generations, Japan has become the foremost nation in Asia, and one of the foremost in the world, while India has lost its leadership in Asia which it had maintained for twenty-five centuries, and has now no recognition at all among the world's nations.

What is the explanation of this amazing difference which we see between the two countries today—the splendid advance of little Japan in almost every respect and the astonishing stagnation and decadence of great, historic India?

Can any intelligent man anywhere, in this country or any other, suggest any possible explanation but one? And is not that one the fact that Japan is and has been free, while India, for nearly two hundred years, has been in bondage to a foreign power?

It is universally agreed today that the prime condition of advance, I may say the prime creator of advance, among nations in the modern world, is education; and that the prime cause of the stagnation and decline of nations is want of education. Let us see how this applies to Japan and India? Has education flourished equally in the two countries? Have the governments of the two been equally interested to promote education?

In Japan, as soon as the nation decided to give up its policy of isolation and put itself into contact with the other nations of the world, the government saw the importance of universal education for its people. As early as 1869 it issued an educational ordinance of a very radical character, which read: "Education is essential for all persons; and whereas in the past learning has been looked upon as a means of securing official position, henceforth the whole population of the country, regardless of classes, must be educated, so that no village shall contain a person devoid of learning, nor any house contain an illiterate inmate."

Accordingly, schools of all grades were established, primary, secondary and high; as also colleges and universities. Particular attention was paid to agricultural, industrial and technical education. And, what the government clearly saw the importance of, young men in large numbers were sent abroad to study in the best colleges, universities and agricultural, industrial and technical institutions, of America and Europe, so that they might become teachers and leaders at home.

On the other hand, from the beginning of British rule in India, the foreign government there adopted an educational policy almost the opposite of that of Japan. It feared and distrusted education, realizing that a people kept in ignorance would be most easily controlled and kept under British power. True, after a while, it established an educational system of a sort, but it was very limited in its scope. It reached only a small fraction of the children of the nation; and as for higher education, that was shaped mainly with a view to fitting young men for the service of their British masters. Scientific and industrial education, and all kinds of training calculated to fit young men and women to serve India, to develop her material resources, to build up her industrial life, and to put the Indian people into contact with the other peoples of the world—these kinds of education were seriously neglected or wholly ignored. Instead of sending students abroad to get the best training obtainable there, as Japan did, it discouraged everything of the kind. Especially it put obstacles in the way of young men desiring to come to America to study, because it feared the influences of freedom and democracy with which in this country they would be surrounded.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose, lecturer in the State University of Iowa, has put the whole matter very clearly. Says Dr. Bose:

> Although technological institutes and agricultural schools are a prime necessity in the economic uplift of any country, there has not been and is not any adequate provision for the creation of these in India. Had India possessed, like Japan, a national government free to rule its own destiny, the situation would have been very different. Sixty years ago Japan was industrially no better off than India. At that time Japan was a feudalistic agricultural country, with a strong aversion to foreign trade or commerce. The nation was sharply divided (her divisions were quite as great as any existing in India) into many classes and sub-classes, of which the Samurai, the warrior class, was the most powerful faction. With the advent of Commodore Perry, Japan turned over a new leaf. The Japanese government decided to make their country the leading industrial land of the Orient. And how did the Japanese government go about it? Japan had little or no modern industrial knowledge or experience. It was entirely without models for industrial organization and without financial machinery.
>
> At this juncture the government took hold of the situation. It established schools and colleges, where all branches of applied science were taught. Says Baron Kikuchi: 'There were official excursions into the domains of silk-reeling, cement-making, cotton and silk spinning, brick-burning, printing and book-binding, soap-boiling, type-casting and ceramic decoration. Domestic exhibitions were organized by the government for the encouragement of the people in undertaking these industries; and specimens of the country's products and manufacturers were sent under government auspices to exhibitions abroad. The government established a firm whose functions were to familiarize foreign markets with the products of Japanese artisans. Steps were taken for training women as artisans, and the government printing bureau set the example of employing female labor, an invasion which soon developed into large dimensions. In short, the authorities applied themselves to educate an industrial disposition, and as soon as success seemed to be in sight, they gradually transferred from official to private direction the various model enterprises, retaining only such as were required to supply the needs of the state.'
>
> The result of all this was, that whereas in the beginning of the Miji era, 1867, Japan had virtually no industries worthy the name, in thirty years she possessed no less than 4595 industrial and commercial companies, either joint-stock or partnership, with a paid-up capital of two hundred million dollars; and today the number of companies and the capital invested is vastly greater still.

Is it surprising that Japan is now the most advanced and the most prosperous industrial country in Asia? Is there any room for doubt that, if the Indian people had possessed a national government of their own, like

that of Japan, India, with her natural resources almost infinitely greater than those of Japan, and with her unlimited labor supply, would have prospered as well as or better than Japan, and would today, industrially and commercially, have been quite abreast of Japan, if not in advance?

Says Rabindranath Tagore:

The Japanese have made remarkable progress; but given equal opportunity, Indian would do as well. We are not intellectually inferior to the Japanese. Possibly we are in some crafts; but in pure thought we are superior; and in the crafts in which they excel, we were once quite their equals, and would be now if not fettered and hindered. The Japanese have been free to educate themselves, and to send their young men to all universities of the world to acquire knowledge. But every Indian feels, and every candid investigator of the subject must admit, that England has conceived it to be her interest to keep us weak, and has discouraged education. In the laboratories she dislikes us to acquire science and to pursue research.

The Tata Foundation is an illustration. In that foundation established by a wealthy and patriotic Parsee for the purpose of promoting scientific education and investigation, and developing India's iron and other resources, we thought India's opportunity had come. But the Government took control of the Foundation and killed it, and that splendid gift, which promised so much for India's industrial program, has become, so far as the benefit of the Indian people is concerned, practically barren and worthless. The Great War comes, and England says to us, 'Industrialize yourselves; make the things we need.' There is something ludicrous about this; for she has consistently and persistently striven to repress and cramp our economic development.

Let us compare a little more fully what Japan's government has done for the Japanese people with what India's has done for the Indian people.

1. As we have seen, Japan's government set out from the first to give education to all the people, so that there should not be an illiterate person in any home in the land; and as a result her Year Book shows her today to be one of the most highly literate nations in the world.

On the other hand, India's government (by foreigners) has persistently refused the people's demand for education, so that now, after a hundred and sixty years, more than 90 per cent of her people are illiterate.

2. As we have seen, the government of Japan set out from the beginning to foster every kind of manufactures and industries, so that now she is the leading manufacturing nation in Asia.

On the other hand, India's foreign government, by her tariffs and in other ways, has deliberately destroyed India's extensive native manufactures in the interest of those of England, and has done all in her power to reduce India from the condition of a great industrial nation to that of a producer of raw materials to build up the industries of Great Britain.

3. The government of self-ruling Japan, from the beginning, in every way possible, has fostered foreign commerce and trade and shipbuilding, with the result that now Japan is not only the first commercial nation of Asia but one of the first in the world.

On the contrary, India's British government, by its patronage bestowed upon British merchants and shipping companies, and its discriminations against those of India, has practically killed the once extensive commerce and shipbuilding of India as carried on by the Indian people, so that now India's foreign commerce for the most part is British, controlled by the British and enriching Britain instead of India; and the shipping which transports this commerce is built in Great Britain instead of in India, thus again taking away from India a legitimate industry and giving it (with the wealth it creates) to the nation that holds her in subjection.

4. From the beginning the Japanese government has done everything in its power to build up the wealth of Japan, in the ways already mentioned and others.

On the contrary, the government of India, in addition to its destruction of those industries which would have promoted the wealth of the Indian people (in the ways already pointed out), from the very beginning has deliberately and persistently drained away her wealth to Great Britain, in enormous quantities, by tariffs; by purchases made in England that ought to have been made in India; by drawing from her large sums to pay the expenses of Britain's imperialistic wars which in no way benefited India; by filling nearly all the more important official positions in India with Englishmen at high salaries, when they might have been filled quite as efficiently, and often very much more so, by Indians at salaries one-third as great; by conferring on those English officials, after a brief service of only twenty-four years, fat pensions to support them in England all the rest of their lives; until in these various ways the country has been drained of its very life blood (as an eminent Englishman has said, has been "bled white.").

If we ask the explanation of this contrast, can any possibly be given except that Japan has had a government of her own, while India has had a government of foreigners?

There are those who try to account for the fact that Japan is so far in advance of India today by saying that the Japanese are a practical people and the Indian people are not.

On the contrary, as Dr. Bose has pointed out, up to seventy years ago the Japanese people were anything but practical, according to our western ideas of practicality. They were a shut-in nation, with few manufactures and little commerce, living their own secluded almost wholly agricultural life. If today they are what we call eminently practical, they have become so within less than two generations, and as a result of their contact with the world, their education and, above all, their freedom. On the other hand, India, besides her thinkers, her scholars, her poets, her philosophers, her religious teachers and devotees—her dreamers, if one chooses to call them so—has had, as has been shown, whole great classes, numbering millions and millions, not only of agriculturists, but of artisans, of traders, of soldiers, of practical men of every known kind.

The exceedingly significant fact should not be overlooked that the new awakening of Asia, caused by contact with modern European thought and modern science, began in India; it did not begin in Japan. India has always been more closely in touch with Europe than has Japan. Asia's renaissance began with Ram Mohum Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar in Bengal, where important literature, alive with the modern spirit, was produced a full half-century before Japan ceased to be a closed land, uninfluenced by modern progress. That leadership, thus begun in Bengal, ought to have continued, grown, spread, borne rich fruit not only in India but in all Asiatic lands. And who can doubt that it would have done so, if India had been as free as Japan, with a government not of foreigners but of her own eminent leaders?

I think the whole situation may be briefly summed up somewhat as follows:

Japan has had her wonderful development and has

attained her conspicuous and honored place among the nations of the world because she has been free. In 1852, when our American Commodore Perry knocked at her closed door and insisted on her opening it to the intercourse and trade of the world, he did not conquer her, reduce her to subjection and begin robbing her. He respected her independence and her rights, took her by the hand and introduced her to the fellowship of free peoples. That was what made possible her splendid career. It is because she has been free and not subject to foreign domination and spoilation that she has attained a position among the nations abreast of Great Britain, France and the United States; that her children and youth are in school; that her people are well fed; that her sanitation is equal to the best in the world; that her manufactures are flourishing; that her commerce is found in all lands and her ships on all seas, and that her wealth is her own and not another's. If America or any European power had seized her, made her a dependency, disarmed her, set up a foreign government to rule her, filled all her most important offices with strangers, refused to give her education, denied to her people power to make or alter a single one of the laws which they must obey, taken control of every yen of her national revenue, would she today have been any farther advanced than is India, if as far?

On the other hand, if India had been treated as Japan has been, given the hand of friendship, permitted to retain her own wealth for her own uses, and to develop herself in freedom along the lines of her own genius, can any intelligent person for a moment doubt that, with her not inferior intelligence, her far greater material resources, her long practical experience as a leading industrial and commercial people, and her advantages of many other kinds, she would today have occupied a place in the world at least as prominent and as honorable as that of Japan?

In the careers of modern Japan and modern India we have one more illustration among the many which appear in history of the tremendously important fact which the whole world should lay to heart, that everywhere the prime and absolutely indispensable condition of growth, of development, of achievement, quite as much in nations as in individual men, is freedom; while everywhere bondage, subjection, means stagnation, degradation, blight, virtual death.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

New York.

The Study Table

(Reviews by John Haynes Holmes)

An Outline of Philosophy

Here* is an amazing book, a great book. After an outline of history, an outline of science, an outline of literature, we now have a masterpiece in this outline of philosophy. It seems an impossible thing—to tell the story of philosophical thought from Socrates to John Dewey, so that the reader will be amused and thrilled as well as instructed. But Dr. Durant has done it with a brilliancy which has made his book a "best-seller" within a fortnight. We can remember no more conspicuous instance of genuine success following upon genuine merit.

The first secret of Dr. Durant's dazzling achievement is the plan which he wisely adopted for his work. He avoided the mistake, made by most "outlines," and by all the Wandelbandt types of history of philosophy, of writing the text as a kind of encyclopædic listing of all the philosophers, big and little, through all the ages, with a sentence or two of biography, a paragraph or at most a page of exposition, and a foot-note of authorities. This is an impossible scheme so far as interest is concerned, and understanding as well, and Dr. Durant, a scholar who deals with people as well as books, knew it. So he picked out a few of the great mountain peaks of thought—Plato, Aristotle, Bacon, Spinoza, Voltaire, Kant, Schopenhauer, Nietszche, Spencer, with a group of contemporary European and American thinkers at the close; wrote fully, fascinatingly, informingly, of each one; made each hero a man as well as a thinker; sketched in ample backgrounds of time and place, and preserved the historic flow, the melodic curve, so to speak, by writing illuminating intermediary passages telling how the one philosopher hitches on where the preceding one drops off. There may be some question of his choice of names—why Voltaire, why not Descartes?—there seems to be neglect of certain great schools of thought—the stoics, the epicureans, the medievalists—but these are faults, if they *are* faults, in a scheme which is itself magnificently right. The book, in its own outline, is a triumph of exposition and perspective.

A second secret of success is the author's commanding genius as a writer. In his biographical work he has much of the quality of Strachey and Guedella. But fortunately, with all the brilliancy and wit of these men, he has none of their cynicism and smartness. Dr. Durant's epigrams flash but they do not burn; he is full of humor, but his pen is never guilty of a wound. These chapters, as pieces of sheer literary art, are better than anything that this country has yet given us. They make Gamaliel Bradford's boasted work, for example, look dull and stupid in comparison. As for the presentation of the thought of the great thinkers of the past, we have seen nothing like it anywhere. The passages on Plato's "Republic," on Spinoza's "Ethik," on Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason," are masterpieces of exposition. They thrill with excitement as well as clarify with meaning. We don't wonder that people are buying this book faster than the publishers can print it. For sheer living interest, it beats any novel that we have read in a decade.

It is obvious that "The Story of Philosophy" is a popular book in the best sense of the word. It is also, let us hasten to add, a scholarly book. If there be any doubts upon this point, John Dewey has answered them for good and all. But just to read the book is to see that Dr. Durant is master of his subject. There is nothing superficial, nothing second-hand, in what he writes. He has gone in every case to original sources, and brings to us his own reaction, scoring all intermediaries of every kind. His quotations from the philosophers are abundant, and chosen with a sense of aptness and beauty which is uncanny. And withal is a maturity of opinion, a sympathy of understanding, an

*"The Story of Philosophy," by Will Durant, Ph. D. Published by Simon and Schuster, New York.

impartiality of appreciation and judgment, which marks Dr. Durant himself as a philosopher. If we were to select any part of this book as more remarkable than any other, it would be those closing passages in each chapter where Dr. Durant gives his final summary of what his subject has done, and his abiding place in the history of thought. Here is writing of the highest order!

It remains to be said that the publishers have put out the book in a form worthy of its character. It is one of the handsomest volumes that we have handled in a long time. It took our breath away when we first saw and read it; now that our breath has come back, we are cheering mightily, that we may contribute our utmost to the book's success. We hope no one of our readers will miss it.

A Book of Poems

Lizette Woodworth Reese is as retiring, almost as hidden a person, as her great predecessor, Emily Dickinson. And she is almost as great a poet! Writing and publishing modestly these many years—blowing no brazen trumpets, donning no outlandish garbs—simply expressing her simple, lovely genius as naturally and unobtrusively as the violet its blossom or the thrush its song—Miss Reese has little by little extended her public, found her way into the anthologies, and gained authentic critical recognition. Now she presents in a single volume* the poems by which she would be remembered, and we suddenly discover the magnitude of this quiet star. Miss Reese is one of our great American poets. Her worth is far more precious than that of many another of much loftier fame. Among women she ranks easily with Emily Dickinson before her and Edna St. Vincent Millay after, as one of the three most distinguished poetesses that our country has produced.

Miss Reese writes in the classic tradition of English letters, and, by her sheer neglect of the newer forms, shows impressively the enduring qualities of the old. Her finest achievement, undoubtedly, is her sonnets, of which there are twenty-five wonderful specimens in this volume. One of these, "Tears," has been well described by H. L. Mencken as "one of the greatest sonnets in the English language"; others, if less famous, seem as beautiful. Next come the songs, which are of a lyric intensity and loveliness almost unmatched in modern literature. There is "A Pastoral," for example, which seems, every time we read it, to be the most perfect thing of its kind ever written. Then there is that gift of epigram which seems so rare these days. We can think only of William Watson and Edwin Markham among modern poets who share with Miss Reese this power of brief, sententious speech. Note this:

"The old faiths light their candles all about,
But burly Truth comes by and blows them out."

And this:

"Battles nor songs can from oblivion save,
But Fame upon a white deed loves to build;
From out that cup of water Sidney gave,
Not one drop has been spilled."

*"The Selected Poems of Lizette Woodworth Reese." Published by Geo. H. Doran Co.

Correspondence

The March of the Mutiles

Editor of UNITY:

I want to thank you for your courageous editorial in UNITY of July 26 on the March of the Mutiles in Paris July 11.

Much as we sympathize with the common people of France in their frightful war losses, her maimed veterans will, unhappily, march in vain until "the little group of wilful men" who misgovern France recognize the justice of your indictment and show works meet for repentance: the recognition of war guilt, the scrapping of the Treaty of Versailles and the abandonment of provocative militarism.

LINCOLN WIRT, *Western Secretary,*
National Council for Prevention of War,
San Francisco, California.

War Guilt

Editor of UNITY:

I take this means of thanking you for Mr. Holmes's review of the four books on "War Guilt" recently published, and all four of which I shall immediately put into my library. When I order them, I shall credit both UNITY and Mr. Holmes, for calling them to my attention.

When the war broke out, I was as bitter in my denunciation of Germany as any "Patriot" in the American Legion, but I was not long in reaching other conclusions, and then I hardly kept out of jail for expressing my altered views. Among other things I used, were some pictures I photographically copied from "Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War," showing scenes of devastation throughout the south caused by Grant, Sherman and Sheridan. Pretending that they were scenes in France and Belgium, I displayed them on every available occasion, to stir up the indignation of anyone who would listen to me, and after I had wrought up the righteous indignation in each case to a fever heat, I would point out some lettering on the remaining walls of one of the ruins of a building in Columbia, S. C., and which would escape the eye of the observer, unless pointed out, and which read "Groceries and Dry Goods" in good English, and then I would "Rub that in."

In one instance, I was reported, by an anonymous letter to the U. S. Marshal. This having come to my notice, I so securely secreted the plates and prints, that I have not been able to find them since. The Marshal, however, being a close friend of mine, never sent anyone to search my premises, as was so often done at that time.

My special object in writing you, however, from which the above is an unintended digression, is help in giving some publicity to your review and send you a list of some of my friends and acquaintances, to whom I would like to have you send the paper, so folded and so marked as to catch the eye of the article. Some of these should lead to subscriptions to UNITY.

H. B. MAURER.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

History—What Is It?

Editor of UNITY:

In an editorial, in your July 5th issue, I note this: "It is one of those little ironies with which history loves to amuse the gods, that the patrioteers of our time are just the ones who, in the days of the Boston Tea Party, the Lexington fight, the Declaration of Independence, would have lined up not with the revolutionary and ragged colonials who supported Washington, but with the respectable and high-toned loyalists who supported George III."

Perhaps, not all of them would have, seeing that the "Boston Tea Party" was for the purpose of keeping up the price of tea *after* the tax on it had been removed!

While those "self-evident" truths are true enough in themselves, that does not mean that all the signers meant them as the second editorial interprets them. Far from it, they had no intention of letting the masses have the vote, or be free from the system of indentured servitude, or be free to organize in their interests as workers. No sir, that talk was not for the masses, but for some colonial aristocrats who did not like other aristocrats over them.

The second editorial says: "The Declaration of Inde-

The Field

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion."

UNIVERSITY UNION INTERNATIONAL AND RELIGIO-SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTE

A Constructive Religious Educational Work from the Scientific Viewpoint, begun in 1876, incorporated at Washington, D. C., in 1910, with University rights and prerogatives.

"University"—Indicates the high grade of work in which it is engaged. If the Sciences of Astronomy and Geology, of Botany and Zoology are University studies, how much higher are Anthropology and the Science of the Ultimate Source of All that is Good?

"International"—Its representative has returned from his fourth tour around the world, visitations to the Colleges, Universities and Missions, in the interest of "Religious Education from the Scientific Viewpoint." These visitations are now being carried on also by correspondence, the world over. Correspondence is the modern milestone of progress, more wonderful than the aeroplane, more universal than radio. Our oldest and most famous universities are using it for special students.

The all impelling motive of the organization of the University Union, fifty years ago, was the loud and insistent declaration, "Science and Religion are in Conflict." The counter-slogans of the University Union from the first have been, "No truth in any field of investigation conflicts with any truth in any other field." "All Truth is Religious, all Truth is Scientific." "Truth in any field of exploration helps to substantiate all Truth in every other field and conflicts with only unfounded theory or hypothesis in every field."

The work of the University Union has also been all along, to help supplement the lack of Religious Education in our National School System. This it does by sending its representative to speak along these lines, to the students in our Normals, Colleges and Universities. In cities where there is no institution of the above grade, he holds in a church or hall a "Religio-Scientific Institute." This is a course of a week's lectures, longer or shorter, as desired. In places where a sufficient group of people is interested to meet weekly or monthly to study the scientific reasons for holding the truths of Religion, a permanent "Religio-Scientific Institute" is organized with the usual Officers and Advisory Board.

Thus the Modus Operandi of the work is simplicity itself. Would there were twenty men fitted for this line of "Higher Religious Education," as some have called it, for each is a field unsurpassed in opportunity!

Fifty years ago, some scientists said, "Foolish"; some religionists said, "Heretical," but today, after megaphoning our slogans to the ends of the earth, the people are saying, "Axioms, self-evident truths, hang the Hamans on their own gallows."

The three conditions of membership in U. U. I. are:

1st—I desire all the light on Religion, Science can supply. I wish to study the Book of this Universe, which I recognize as "The Scientists' Bible."

2nd—I desire that this Light may be passed on to my neighbors and to all humanity as soon as possible.

3d—I will either give myself to this work or I will help support those who give themselves to it.

Whoever assists to the extent of $5 is an Alpha (associate) Member. Whoever assists by $10 becomes a Beta (active) Member. A Gamma Member gives $20. A Delta Member gives $40 and so on up the Greek alphabet, by geometrical ratio. All who give themselves to the work on the Christ Contract (Seek first God's Kingdom and the needed things will be added thereto) are Omega Members.

When we asserted for the first time, "No two Truths ever have, do now, or ever will conflict with each other, many people who had not been careful in their thinking, shook their heads and said, "Extreme."

When we added, "No Scientific Truth has ever, does now, or ever will conflict with any Religious Truth, some looked their shock, others expressed their surprise, "Radical."

But today when we make the still more sweeping assertion, "You cannot make two Truths conflict even if you try to do so," the people now say, "Axiomatic." Yes, literature from all fields of investigation is at last beginning to voice these same great axiomatic Truths.

As research goes on in all fields of thought and investigation and the mountain piles of Truth rear their heads higher and higher into the eternal blue of clear thinking, the old cry of "Conflict" is dying away and the strong, bold declaration of "Harmony" is resounding louder and louder among the mountain peaks of Truth.

These lines of thought on "Religious Education from the Scientific Viewpoint" have been reduced to a series of twelve lessons and are offered by correspondence. People now who cannot leave home to get an education, can take this important course of study in their home and still have the assistance of the author of the course. $10 for the twelve lessons—$1 each sample.

For further information regarding the studies, the lectures or memberships in the U. U. I., address Religio-Scientific Institute, 721 Cooper Street, Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Latvia.—According to a report there are several conscientious objectors now in prison. One Adventist has been sentenced to one and a half years' imprisonment and loss of all civic rights, for his refusal to serve on Saturday according to his creed. Jews are also required to break their Sabbath during their term of service.

Norway.—A dean named Castberg, living near Trondhjem, has for some years refused to deal with the papers on preparation for mobilization, which are sent each year from the Ministry of War to all State Church pastors. He has asked the Ministry of Ecclesiastics to be excused from this work,

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pendence belongs to the radicals of our time, just as it was made by the radicals of their time."

Well, if the radicals of these times are of the same type as those of the time of 1776, those of us who have to work for our incomes had better beware of their fine words!

And, by the way, the secret sessions of our present-day law-making bodies have a fine precedent in the fact that the very Constitution of these United States of America was itself made in a completely secret conclave and the facts of the speeches and acts made therein not revealed until many years later! And, too it was misrepresented to the small proportion of the people who could then vote—under their property qualifications.

The Revolution was but the revolting of one set of rulers against another set so as to avoid dividing the spoils—it was *not* to help the masses, who had no vote, and were *not* given a vote by the "revolutionists" either.

VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW.

Phoenix, Arizona.

[We think our correspondent confuses the Declaration of Independence with the Constitution. The latter was made by conservatives, but the former by genuine radicals. See Professor Smith's "The Spirit of American Government."—Editors.]

Conditions in England

[Extract from a personal letter dated May 21, 1926, from a leading English School Principal]

"The state of affairs in England is very bad. It almost seems as if the national character had been seriously damaged by the war. The mass of the people are idle, indifferent, stupid, discontented; the work they do is done as leisurely as possible; they show no desire to do the work in the best manner to save waste; they seem to think that it does not matter how long they take and how badly they do anything; they seem to imagine that the employer has endless supplies of coin, and that it is a duty to waste as much of his resources as they can. Even the best disposed workmen doing repairs here now, whom I have known from boyhood and have been on the best possible terms with for many years, make appalling blunders; one cannot tell whether on purpose or through stupidity. They smile pleasantly and offer to do it all over again if you wish, but, of course, at the expense of the employer. In every house the same thing is happening as in the country at large. Every employer is receiving the same treatment as the government received from the masses of the population. It is a most terrible moment for all responsible people.

"I thought you would be interested in knowing what I am personally going through at this moment; for it is just a sample of what is going on everywhere."

as his conscience does not permit him to have anything to do with preparations for war. The Ministry of War persisted in its claims, but after discussing his case, the bishops made a recommendation in his favor, and the Ministry of Ecclesiastics has handed over the work to the other pastor in the parish. "Verden Venter" asks the question: What would the Church Department do, if the other pastor also refused, or what would happen in a parish with only one pastor?

Pan-America.—Chilean International Cooperation.—For 30 years, the Government of Chile has endeavored to spread goodwill among the republics of Central and Southern America, by maintaining scholarships, including living expenses, for 100 students of these states every year, in the university and technical schools of Chile.

A Philippine Youth Movement has recently come into existence among students of schools and colleges of the islands. It finds expression in united efforts toward the abolition of war and race prejudice, and towards the working out of Christian principles in international and industrial life.

Sweden. — Conscientious Objectors who are engaged on Civilian Service during this year number 369 of whom 257 absolutely refuse all military service and the rest merely decline to bear arms. The latter have to serve 90 days more than the usual military term, the former 120 days in forestry or in road-making. A trade union paper, *The Worker,* has published a discussion on the subject, deploring the policy of the state, which allows the work of C.O.'s to depress wages, and increase unemployment among foresters. The idealist motive of the anti-militarist movement is, however, understood.

Parliament has extended the law allowing Civilian Service to C.O.'s on religious grounds to those refusing military service on ethical grounds. The law, however, only holds force in time of peace.

The provisional law for the eight-hour day has been prolonged till the end of 1930. The Government's proposal that the law should be made permanently valid, was defeated.

Yugo-Slavia—The Minority Problem. An important contribution towards the solution of the Minority question has recently been made by the representatives of the German Minority in Yugo-Slavia. They have come to the help of the non-German minority in Carinthia with the request that they shall be granted unrestricted autonomy in matters of culture and education, by the Austrian Government. The appeal says: "We Germans in Yugo-Slavia are convinced that the Government and the people will do all they can to solve the Slovenic minority question in a spirit worthy of the German people, that is, in a spirit of chivalry and broad tolerance, and thereby to give to the States of Europe an example of a just, democratic, European and lofty policy towards Minorities." The effects of this action are already to be seen in the friendly reception given by Raditch, Yugo-Slav Minister of Education, to a recent deputation of the German minority, indicating the possibility of a new education policy towards the Germans in Yugo-Slavia. These events constitute a development of the movement which began at the Minority Conference in Geneva in October, when the German delegation from Yugo-Slavia proposed the formation of a Minority Commission composed of Germans and Slovenes, to examine the conditions of both minorities. In November, the Carinthian Landtag itself resolved to establish two Commissions which should examine the grievances of the minority districts and propose means of redress.

* * *

Walking Tours in Germany for young people are being arranged by the Holiday Fellowship and The British Federation of Youth, 421, Sentinel House, Southampton Row, W.C.1.

Congress of International University Federation of League of Nations at Geneva—September.

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